

THE WORKERS' CALL.

"Workingmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain."

SECOND YEAR.—WHOLE NO. 60.

CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 28, 1900.

PRICE TWO CENTS

THE MIDDLE MAN

Abolition of Economic Masters Necessary to Freedom

WAGE SYSTEM AND SLAVERY.

Socialism the Only Message of Hope for the Vast Army of the World's Tollers.

Here is a practical motto for the awakening proletariat of the world this May Day anniversary: "Abolish the tyranny of the Middle Man!"

A moment's thought will convince any intelligent workman of the soundness of the principle involved in that motto. We ought to know, of course, that our struggle for individual freedom is not a fight against this man or that or the other. Our quarrel is not with a Vanderbilt or a Rockefeller or any other man that may be named. The most serious obstacle to our progress lies in the notion that our struggle is against MEN. So long as we imagine that the capitalist is to blame for the conditions which exist and that there is any use appealing to him for the righting of our wrongs, so long shall we move round and round in a circle and never get anywhere. HE CANNOT DO ANYTHING FOR US, NO MATTER HOW MUCH HE MIGHT DESIRE TO.

I do not question the value of labor unions—they are one of the steps toward the emancipation of labor. But they are in no sense an end in themselves. To think of them as a means of securing higher wages is to miss their real meaning. That man who thinks that what he wants is higher wages needs enlightenment. WAGES IS JUST WHAT EVERY LABORER THE WORLD OVER SHOULD BE EAGER TO ABOLISH. A WAGE SYSTEM IS ABSOLUTELY SYNONYMOUS WITH SLAVERY—not with African slavery, but with a far more hopeless and hideous sort. The maintenance of the wage system would mean the defeat of civilization and the disappointment of humanity's highest and holiest hopes.

The labor union is a sign-board pointing to something better. It means that the interests of all laborers are one, and it also means that the interests of employers and employees are diametrically hostile to each other. There is no harmony between the two and to pretend that there is, is to trifle with the facts. The interests of capitalism are served by the making of profits. Abolish profits, and the system of capitalism immediately goes out of existence. But the interests of the laborer are not served by profits, because he does not receive them, and he cannot receive them. They could have no meaning to him. All he can possibly receive is the equivalent of the product of his labor, that which shall enable him to buy back all that he has produced. And that is not profit. It has a better name, a name which does not occur in the vocabulary of capitalism—"justice."

The labor union also means that the interests of all laborers are absolutely identical. If they are ever to win their fight, they must stand together as a class. And something more than this is necessary. They must know what they want. They must be united for a definite purpose. The trouble has been thus far that they have either concentrated their efforts upon a purpose that was not great enough, or else have been fighting a battle that ought never to be won. On the one side, they have fought for an advance in wages or against a reduction—in either case it means the maintenance of the wage system, and therefore slavery. Slaves fighting for the defence of slavery! On the other side, we have the spectacle of the trades unions contenting themselves with trying to limit the number of apprentices and all that sort of thing. That is a species of tyranny to which the American people never will and never ought to submit. I deny the right of any trades union on earth to say how many men shall work in a certain trade or where any consumer shall buy goods. Let the workmen of this country learn at the earliest possible moment, that unless their claims appeal transparently to every good man's sense of justice, their cause is lost to begin with. No cause that has not in it, so that all can see the claim of justice, ever ought to succeed, or in the long run can.

But apart from the impertinent injustice of such a course, it is not and cannot be effective. No trade union nor all of them together can bring all the laborers into their membership. Fewer and fewer are the great industries that can be crippled by the action of trades unions. That weapon has lost its effectiveness. If it ever had any. When thousands of men are out of work, it is too great a strain on human nature to expect them not to take the place of strikers. It is every man's inherent right and duty to work rather than see his wife and children starve. All the powers of society, and their sympathies, too, will defend a man in that right.

But there is an orderly, natural, legitimate course for workmen to pursue. And that course is indicated in socialism. The socialist political movement has come into existence purely to give the proletariat an opportunity to gain their freedom. Think, workmen, what that movement means. It is nothing under heaven but a workmen's movement. It is devoted absolutely to your interests. It has no other interests to serve. It does not afford an opportunity for the fulfillment of personal ambitions. No man or set of men can ride into any sort of supremacy above their fellows on the crest of the socialist political tide. It is not a movement for the officer or to build up a great political machine to repeat the tyrannies of past times. It means the abolition of the springs of political corruption. It means the wiping out of the existing political parties. It proposes to abolish the wage system altogether. It proposes to make a return to slavery impossible. It proposes to bring freedom and health and happiness and plenty within reach of every human being that comes into the world. It proposes to make it impossible for any man to climb to any sort of eminence on the shoulders of his brother men. It proposes to make human interests first, with the knowledge that all other interests will naturally follow.

The system of capitalism under which we are living subjects the masses to the domination of a comparatively few. Economically speaking, we are all consumers. We must all have food and clothing and shelter, if we are even to exist. And if we are really to LIVE—if we are to have anything worthy to be called LIFE—we must have a great deal more than food and clothing and shelter. We must have good food, clothing which gratifies our tastes, and shelter which is at once healthful and beautiful. We are more than a pack of animals, the theory of capitalism to the contrary notwithstanding—we are men and women. We have something more than stomachs, something more than physical nerves and sensibilities. We have capacities for countless other and higher things. We love the beautiful, or would if we had the chance. We want to educate ourselves. We want to see and create beautiful things, hear and compose beautiful music, have leisure for travel and recreation. I hold that these are all our natural rights. And one man is just as much entitled to them as another. No man was ever meant to be the slave or the drudge of another—nor was any woman so meant—no matter how high the price paid for that slavery or drudgery. To attempt to maintain any such hideous doctrine is to nullify all morality and make one's self a beast.

The message of socialism to the vast army of tollers the world over is the only sane, hopeful, cheering, brotherly message that is being spoken to day. It has an insight into the present and a vision of the future such as no prophet of all the past has had. It declares that the earth belongs to all the people, that every human being that comes into the world bears stamped on his nature in its manifold capacities the certificate of his rights. Socialism rests securely upon the well-supported conviction that life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are a universal possibility. Experience has only painfully proven that they are not a possibility under the regime of capitalism, indeed, that they are not thinkable under that regime. And why is that the case? Because capitalism forbids equality of opportunity. It means a system of injustice from base to dome. It could not exist a day, but for the fact that all the laws are made in its interests and the further fact that as yet the masses are ignorant of the power they possess.

The truth is, we are consenting to live under the tyranny of middle men. We are all consumers, and the mass of us are producers. It was perfectly natural that a class of men should be produced which should stand between producer and consumer—at first to the great convenience of both. But that class of middle men has become the MASTER CLASS, and both producers and consumers are absolutely at their mercy. They are the profit-mongers. Neither producers nor consumers, as a class, receive profits. But this class of middle men is absolutely supported and maintained by profits. And they hold in their hands the government, the press, the church, society, everything. Are they morally worse than other men? No. Do they aspire to be tyrants? Not all of them, and none of them at the beginning. If they have become possessed of the nature of tyrants, it is the inevitable result of their position. So long as we tolerate such a class, we are responsible for them. Whether or not they are to continue depends entirely upon us. We can abolish that tyranny forever. We can wipe out that economic class. And there is every reason why we should do so.

The world has suffered from the tyranny of the ecclesiastical middle man, and it still tolerates him to some extent. But society as a whole has abolished that tyranny in this country. We have no established church or religion. No priesthood has any legal right to command our obedience or support. Was this ecclesiastical tyranny represented by immoral men? No. But the system was and is the very essence of immorality, and its influence has not

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MAKES NO CHANGE

"Reform" Deals with External Only, Leaving Base Intact.

RECOGNITION OF CLASS RULE.

Failure of "Reformers" to Grasp This Fact Renders Their Efforts Futile and Ineffective.

Occasionally one meets with what might be called a reformer-socialist; that is, a man who has come into socialism from a reform movement and has brought with him his reform ideas and methods. He has been attracted to socialism by its lofty sentiments and ideals, not by a thorough study of the economic question. He has caught a glimpse of the general outline of the Co-operative Commonwealth, but has failed to grasp the socialist philosophy of history and the class struggle. Coming into the movement by the sentimental route, it is not strange that he should cling to many of his old methods and tactics. He usually looks upon socialism as a new reform movement and so thinks it can be attained, like other reforms in which he has been interested, a step at a time. His lack of economic knowledge has led him into this error.

A clear understanding of the principles of socialism reveals the fact that the movement is not a reform but a revolution. A reform merely proposes a re-adjustment of the relations within the present class organized society. It does not involve a change of economic base. It merely effects a change of externals. Revolution, on the other hand, involves a change from within, a change in the internal mechanism of society.

The reformer is constantly deceived by appearances. He observes that with progress externals change, and so he becomes satisfied with mere outward appearances. He fails to observe that externals may be altered without a change in the internal mechanism. While the reformer lays the whole emphasis on outward forms, the socialist cares nothing for external forms, he looks only at the internal mechanism. He knows that internal changes are necessarily followed by external manifestations, and that these outward changes will take care of themselves.

The socialist, then, looks behind the form to the internal condition. As to whether a measure is socialist or not depends upon its internal mechanism—upon the standpoint from which it proceeds. A measure may be apparently socialist; that is, it may be so in outward form, while its internal working may be anti-socialistic and designed to serve the interests of the capitalist class. For example, the reformer and socialist both want to nationalize the railroads. The former desires to nationalize them as a reform, while the latter proposes nationalization as a revolution. In either case there would be a change in external form. The difference is, that the reformer would confine the change to externals, while the socialist would cause a change in the internal mechanism. The reformer proceeds from the standpoint of middle class interests, as against the interests of the plutocracy. The socialist proceeds from the interest of the working class as against the interests of both the middle and upper class capitalists. The reformer only wishes to abolish the railroad monopoly which is fleecing the middle class. The socialist wishes to abolish all fleecers, by abolishing the wage system. The reformer's scheme of nationalization would afford no relief to the railroad workers—they would still be wage slaves and exploited by the capitalist government out of a goodly portion of the wealth they produce. The scheme would undoubtedly reduce the cost of transportation, but there is no evidence that the middle class would reduce the price of their products to consumers. All they are interested in, is to transfer the large profits of the railroad magnates into their own pockets. The socialist plan, on the other hand, proposes a change not only in the external form but in the internal mechanism. It proceeds from the proletarian point of view, and has for its object the improvement in the condition of the railroad workers.

Socialism, then, is not a reform but a revolution. A clear understanding of this fact would save the reform-socialist from many mistaken efforts. It would cure him of the step at a time fallacy, and show him that the first step toward socialism is a mastery of the public powers. His pursuance of reform tactics accomplishes but little, if anything, in that direction. The revolutionary character of socialism is necessitated by the fact of class rule. The reformer's method of procedure, which I am sorry some socialists adopt, completely overlooks this fact. Those of this class sometimes argue that as socialism cannot be completely inaugurated at once, we should work for measures tending in that direction. This sounds reasonable, but the fact is, class government renders the method impracticable. In the present

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ORGANIZED LABOR

Upon Which Side Will It Stand in the Pending Campaign?

DUTY OF TRADE UNIONISTS.

The Solution of the Labor Problem to Be Found Only in an Intelligent Use of the Ballot.

What is the duty of trade unionists in the coming great political battle?—Is it to quietly swallow the "issues" that are promulgated by the Hannas and silver barons to divide the workers, and to throw up their hats and howl themselves hoarse for the demagogical office seekers they put forward?—Is it the duty of organized men to denounce each other and to pull each other's hair out, so to speak, over the question of whether a McKinley or Bryan or Dewey or Smith or Jones is "the best man," and as to whether there should be a silver or gold standard, imperialism, tariff or a canal built in Central America?

The writer is of the opinion that trade unionists possess common sense, and that they understand the historic mission of organized labor, or are willing to learn the same, that they are open to reason and that they are loyal to the declaration of principles of the great combined economic movement.

What is that mission? The abolition of the wage system. Why? Because under its operation a new slavery has been introduced, and from its prolific womb spring all the social ills of which we complain.

Under the capitalistic wage system labor is so successfully robbed of the fruits of its toil that an insignificant percentage of the population of this country has succeeded in getting control of all the natural opportunities and the wealth produced by the workers for generations, until today we have the harsh contrast of an arrogant, cruel and despotic plutocracy on the one side and a plundered and oppressed army of tollers on the other side.

When we organize the capitalists apply the blackest knout to our active workers; when we strike, the policeman's club and the militiaman's bayonet are used against us without the slightest compunction; when we boycott a brutal labor-crushing concern, the courts are ready with their injunctions; when we demand labor legislation, the politicians sneer at us, pigeon-hole our bills, or even if they pass the most unimportant ones, the courts declare them unconstitutional.

Has not the time come to act? It has if we are deserving of the name of American citizens and intelligent human beings. Today it is no longer possible for wage workers to become rich and independent, which was their ambition in the past. The tools of production which our forefathers owned, and which ownership was a guarantee of independence, have developed into vast, scientific labor-saving machinery, controlled by the capitalist class, which arbitrarily, by means of combinations, trusts, monopolies, etc., fixes our wages upon one side and prices upon the other side. They catch us coming and going. During the present generation nearly every trade has been or is being revolutionized by the introduction of labor-saving devices. This is truly the machine age.

With the continuous introduction of labor-saving appliances production of wealth is increased at a geometric ratio, and proportionately to that production the workers now receive less than at any period in the world's history. As a matter of fact, the labor army is engaged in piling up wealth for others to enjoy for little more than mere rations. The labor class, according to the census reports, is propertyless, and, therefore, it can never hope to compete with the capitalist class and gain control of the industrial situation through economic effort. That is settled beyond the peradventure of a doubt.

This is so, because as already stated, the employers already possess the tools of production, the labor-saving machinery, and they are now entrenching themselves in capitalistic unions known as trusts and monopolies. There are today no less than 600 trusts and monopolies in existence in this country, capitalized at upwards of \$5,000,000,000, or over a billion dollars more than was invested in production in the census year of 1890. In other words, all the live capital of the nation has become trustified or monopolized. It is now being used co-operatively by the many for the few.

We are already well along in the final stage of the evolution of capitalism; namely, the combination or trustification of trusts. The railroads of the country are controlled by thirteen great syndicates, which are more or less closely connected, and which work together unanimously. These syndicates are likewise connected with manufacturing and mining combines, and they have the power, and use it, too, to crush independent concerns. We are informed that after election the twelve great iron and steel trusts will combine, and the coal

trusts are making a similar move. The Standard Oil trust, for example, already controls over thirty subsidiary trusts, and with their immense income each year the Rockefeller family is able to gobble up the choicest "industrials" on the market, and each new trust added to their string means still greater profit and power. Thus the Rockefellers dominate largely in oil, leather, lead, copper, rubber, tobacco, whisky, cotton oil, sugar, gas and electric lighting and power, steamships and railroad transportation, iron mining, natural gas, barbed wire, fertilizer, salt, glucose, bricks, linseed oil, silver mining, automobiles, etc., etc. Thus it is not difficult to see what the end will be.

Owing to the fact that wage workers of this country, who are the consumers as well as the producers, receive less than one-fifth of the wealth they produce, consumption cannot keep pace with production, and so the warehouses are again filling up with surplus products for which there are no buyers. Signs point to another industrial stagnation and panic in the near future. It will be welcomed with joy by the great capitalists. They can then squeeze the wind and water out of many of the trusts, dump the owners "common" stock—the middle class—overboard (and at the same time reduce wages), and own everything themselves. The trust of trusts will be complete. The holders of preferred stock and bonds will be in clover and can fraternize beautifully.

Meanwhile, what will be labor's position in this great game of life? Will it weakly continue to follow the Judases and betraying politicians of the capitalistic parties? Labor will do no such thing if it is intelligent enough to understand its own class interests. The trade unionists are now resisting the capitalist class upon the industrial field, and henceforth it becomes the duty of the trade unionists to likewise resist the same class upon the political field, and become leaders in the labor army. It is a word, they must be LOYAL to the fundamental principles of their organizations.

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, in Detroit, December 11-20, it was officially declared that no legislation would be secured from the state and federal governments, and it was, therefore, recommended that local and central bodies of labor take independent political action along the lines enunciated in the Federation's declaration of principles. It was likewise declared that the trusts and monopolies cannot be destroyed by demagogical politicians, but, on the contrary, were the logical evolution of the capitalist system. The Federation, thereupon clearly pointed the way out of the wilderness of capitalism as follows:

And, furthermore, that this convention call upon the trade unionists of the United States, and workingmen generally, to study the development of trusts and monopolies with a view to nationalizing the same.

Here is the solution of the labor problem. The nationalization or socialization of trusts and monopolies is now the battle-cry of the loyal trade unionists of the United States (as in other countries as well, by the way). The time has come to bury past prejudices and animosities and to rally to the standard carried by Debs and Harriman.

"Turn from the past; it is lonely,
And barren and bleak to the view,
Its fires are cold, its stories are old,
Turn, turn from the past to the new,
Today leads you up to the hill-tops,
That are kissed by the radiant sun,
Today has no tumb, life's hopes are in bloom,
And today has a prize to be won."

And that prize is the Co-operative Commonwealth. Socialism in our time!
M. S. Hayes.

Quid Pro Quo.

"In discussing the spirit of the S. L. P., I am struck by the exhibition of it which appears in Comrade Benham's letter, which I wish everyone of our comrades to read with care, especially the paragraph in which he charges our executive board in 'Innuendo' as direct, 'WE CONTENTED THAT SAID RETURN MIGHT BE SO in the case of the S. L. P. Hence a majority of both parties, voting as one, might be a fitful majority so far as the S. L. P. is concerned.'—Berge, Cox, Heath and Stedman in the 'Manifesto,' S. D. Herald, April 17.

ROUND 1, S. D. P. COUNTER. (Not at all "Innuendo"):

"The S. L. P. does not know its membership, and has studiously evaded giving any definite information concerning it. With these facts confronting us, it will be seen that their vote would depend upon the returns made by the secretaries of local sections. Under such conditions, while WE DO NOT CLAIM that the returns would be accurate, YET WE CONTENT THAT SAID RETURN MIGHT BE SO in the case of the S. L. P. Hence a majority of both parties, voting as one, might be a fitful majority so far as the S. L. P. is concerned.'—Berge, Cox, Heath and Stedman in the 'Manifesto,' S. D. Herald, April 17.

S. L. P. CROSS-COUNTER. ("Innuendo" direct):

"Might not the Republican party so 'interest' that they would make the stand they have for 'Democracy' as against anything and everything? UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, WE DO NOT CLAIM that such is the case, YET WE CONTENT THAT IT MIGHT BE SO."—G. B. Benham in Workers' Call, April 21st.

A very scientific contest boys, with honors about even. You should have been present at the beginning of the round Comrade Debs, and seen your scrappers perform. And now the audience will turn their attention to socialism. WORKINGMEN, unite!

SOCIALIST POINTERS

Let us save our fighting blood for the purpose of attacking the enemy.

The politicians are now fixing up platforms to catch votes; will they catch yours?

Socialists have a large chance just now to exercise the beautiful virtue known as charity.

There is no occasion to become excited; no man nor set of men can stay the march of evolution.

The battle-cry "Workingmen of all countries unite," applies also to workmen of the United States.

Socialists will have a much better use for May 1 than to put it in shouting for Dewey or any other military man.

Suppose the rumor that Croker was dead were true? The system by which he got rich still goes marching on.

The federal constitution will be called on to do some surprising contortions the first time the socialists capture a state.

The workman must be contented with the prosperity that is left over from what the other fellows cannot use.

No good will be accomplished by turning out Senator Clark as long as a system is left whereby he can buy his way back.

One of the vested rights of the poor man is to go hungry; the police and the regular army will see that it is preserved to him.

Unless the socialists nominate, workmen will only have a choice between two lawyers in most of the congressional districts.

After the recent exhibition of power how much longer will the workers in the steel mills continue to vote for private ownership?

The workman who can figure out the difference to him whether Haney, Carter or Tanner is governor is certainly good at figures.

Even if the Democrats should get into power they would smash the trusts so softly that the latter would not know anything about it.

How do workingmen figure they have a voice in the government of this country when not a single member of their class is in congress?

The socialists do not want to get into power until they have back of them a majority of the workers who know exactly what they want.

The queen says, "my troops," and that tells the whole story; they are fighting for her, and her class and not for any interests of their own.

Dewey pays no attention to the warnings of the Chicago unions. Perhaps his wife would feel disgraced if the admiral should get the labor vote.

What an amount of energy on the part of the voters goes to waste, in throwing down one political machine for the purpose of putting another into power.

The Filipinos certainly cannot know how well they would be treated; we would give all we needed of them work for 12 hours a day; the rest of them could starve.

No one got very much excited when Americans were being murdered in Turkey but as property was destroyed the sultan is notified that he will have to pay for it or fight.

Denver people who were going step at a time when they elected a council in favor of municipal ownership found that it was a step backward when the aldermen sold them out.

Suppose workmen should starve while mills are shut down that gamblers may profit? There are plenty of workmen who are only half starved to take their places.

As the commercial classes make the law it is only natural that they should not be made so long as to favor workmen. The latter would make laws in their own favor if they were in power and as they are in the vast majority there is no good reason why they are not in power.

PARTY MEMBERS TAKE NOTICE!

The Central committee will discuss the question of the party name next Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 65 N. Clark street. All party members can participate in the discussion. Other matter of importance will also come up for consideration.

Central Committee.

The price of the Workers' Call is one cent, but you can have one sent to your neighbor free of charge, by forwarding his name and address.

THE WORKERS' CALL.

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Special rates if ordered by the hundred. Orders for current issue should reach the office by Tuesday evening.

ADVERTISEMENTS. A limited number of acceptable advertisements will be inserted.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. To secure the return of unused manuscripts postage should be enclosed.

The fact that a signed article is published does not commit The Workers' Call to all opinions expressed therein.

Contributions and items of news concerning the labor movement are requested from our readers.

Every contribution must be accompanied by the name of the writer, not necessarily for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.

Table with 2 columns: Year and Amount. 1890 13,704; 1891 19,552; 1892 21,512; 1893 25,666; 1894 30,020; 1895 34,869; 1896 38,275; 1897 55,550; 1898 82,204

"LET US FORGET."

There is one side of the trouble within the party that most of the comrades forget and that it is just the forgetting that is causing a lot of trouble—that is the effect upon the party press.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MAY DAY.

It is universally recognized throughout the capitalist world that the first day of May is closely associated with the interests of the revolutionary proletariat, and in many European countries that date is looked forward to with doubt and alarm by the exploiting classes.

SOCIALISM.

A Definition (with Apologies) by Eugene V. Brewster.

Socialism is a system not to be applauded, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness, it cowers to no knave, it oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor and sympathizes with the humble.

Since that period the economic forces that have been steadily making for socialism, have invested May Day with a peculiar significance.

It has become a day of inspiration for the workers and of terror for their masters. It is also a protest against the attempts to popularize militarism, territorial aggrandizement, and that sham patriotic sentiment by which the exploiting class hope to perpetuate the system of capitalist supremacy.

TRUTHS FOR TRADES UNIONISTS.

'Tis said that eighty-five per cent. That labor now produces; Becomes the prey of wealthy men. Through legalized abuses. Though few in numbers, they project. The laws that rule the nation; And all the claims of wealth protect. The LAW is their salvation.

What will they say?

As the presidential election draws near they will tell the workers over and over again that they are free men, and that their interests are identical with those of the possessors of the power that makes them starving tramps.

What remedies are offered.

Listen ye workmen! Laws are being demanded for the protection of the stock-gambler and labor skinner, but not one proposition for the protection of your class.

The same men who decry unity at the ballot box.

are the ones who are now attempting in this manner to disrupt the ranks of organized labor. Workingmen, watch your leaders, even if you consider them faithful, watch them!

Did you notice that most of the houses that were being pulled down as unsanitary.

are those which are unoccupied or for which no rent is being paid? All "reforms" which do not threaten rent, interest, or profit, are easily carried through.

The steel skeleton of the Chicago post office still remains as it has been for months.

Work there is at a standstill. And yet there are workmen, unemployed, who feel proud that McKinley is a member of the Bricklayers' union.

Owing to alleged injuries inflicted upon some of these pioneers of capitalist civilization called missionaries.

it has been decided to hold up the Turks for \$100,000. If the victim cannot produce this amount "we" are going to seize the port of Smyrna. The Turk should call to mind the Kiaou-Chiaou episode some time ago in China where Kaiser Wilhelm's fleet seized the port and nearly 3,000 square miles of land for

SNAP SHOTS BY THE WAYSIDE.

Up to the present no "reformer" has attributed the poverty of the workers to the fact that the porch climbers have abstracted their diamonds and jewelry. Inventive genius is seemingly at a low ebb amongst them just now.

"Well-dressed pedestrians whom no one would mistake for pickets were pushed and shoved and told that they were blocking the sidewalk."

says an indignant "Board of Trade" man who was hustled by the police round the Merchants' Loan and Trust building. This account which appears in the Tribune of April 22nd, gives a pointer by which the workers can be identified. A well-dressed man cannot be mistaken for a picket. "By their rags shall ye know them." Good clothing is the mark of the stock gambler, the labor-skinner, the politician and the parasitical hangers on of capitalism.

The closing down of the American Steel and Wire mills has evoked much remarkable comment in the daily press.

some of it so significant that if the brains of the working class were in any way active, they would not need to listen to socialist speakers to find out the cause of the evils from which they suffer.

With remarkable unanimity the capitalist press deplores the fact that the ownership of these mills enables the individuals who control them, to take away the means of subsistence from the thousands who must work there or starve.

But what is the difference between the power of J. W. Gates as representative of the stockholders of the American Steel and Wire company and the proprietor of any single factory, mill or mine? It is a difference of degree, not of kind.

In both cases the same power prevents the workman from exercising his labor power on the means of production; the individual ownership of the tools and materials by and on which labor power must be expended to create a product.

In both cases the same result is reached. Wage slavery stands so palpably condemned, that even the upholders of the system itself, cannot, in the face of this latest demonstration, find an excuse for its existence.

But in a few months, these same papers which have written so boldly, and shown so plainly, the frightful results of the system of private ownership of the means of production, and the abject slavery of the dependent propertyless class, will give forth an utterly different note. What will they say?

What will they say?

As the presidential election draws near they will tell the workers over and over again that they are free men, and that their interests are identical with those of the possessors of the power that makes them starving tramps, whenever the desire for increased profits makes "closing down" necessary.

What remedies are offered.

Listen ye workmen! Laws are being demanded for the protection of the stock-gambler and labor skinner, but not one proposition for the protection of your class.

The strike in the building trades has reached a critical point.

The "friends" of labor are trying to make a "settlement" and during the negotiations it were well to watch them closely. That political fakir, Harrison, is attempting to induce the workers to surrender the keystone of their united strength, that is the Building Trades council. Once that bond of unity is broken the whole fabric of local trades unionism falls to pieces like a house of cards, and the rapacity of the contractors be left to work its will unchecked.

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Did you notice that most of the houses that were being pulled down as unsanitary.

are those which are unoccupied or for which no rent is being paid? All "reforms" which do not threaten rent, interest, or profit, are easily carried through.

the same alleged reason and still holds on to it with the "milled fist."

He should also be informed that although "we" don't use the expression "milled fist," which figure of speech is the exclusive property of Bill Hohenzollern, yet there is amongst us an understanding that once the American flag is hoisted upon a foreign shore it must not be hauled down again.

A "crusade for vocal sweetness" is being undertaken by some New York women who would probably die of inanition if the opportunity for dabbling in "reform" was denied them.

These ladies are now forming a society whose object is "to make speech agreeable to the ears." This society "appeals to women all over the country and promises radical reform in the tones of American womanhood from the platform and in the home."

With remarkable unanimity the capitalist press deplores the fact that the ownership of these mills enables the individuals who control them, to take away the means of subsistence from the thousands who must work there or starve.

But what is the difference between the power of J. W. Gates as representative of the stockholders of the American Steel and Wire company and the proprietor of any single factory, mill or mine? It is a difference of degree, not of kind.

In both cases the same power prevents the workman from exercising his labor power on the means of production; the individual ownership of the tools and materials by and on which labor power must be expended to create a product.

In both cases the same result is reached. Wage slavery stands so palpably condemned, that even the upholders of the system itself, cannot, in the face of this latest demonstration, find an excuse for its existence.

But in a few months, these same papers which have written so boldly, and shown so plainly, the frightful results of the system of private ownership of the means of production, and the abject slavery of the dependent propertyless class, will give forth an utterly different note. What will they say?

What will they say?

As the presidential election draws near they will tell the workers over and over again that they are free men, and that their interests are identical with those of the possessors of the power that makes them starving tramps, whenever the desire for increased profits makes "closing down" necessary.

What remedies are offered.

Listen ye workmen! Laws are being demanded for the protection of the stock-gambler and labor skinner, but not one proposition for the protection of your class.

The strike in the building trades has reached a critical point.

The "friends" of labor are trying to make a "settlement" and during the negotiations it were well to watch them closely. That political fakir, Harrison, is attempting to induce the workers to surrender the keystone of their united strength, that is the Building Trades council. Once that bond of unity is broken the whole fabric of local trades unionism falls to pieces like a house of cards, and the rapacity of the contractors be left to work its will unchecked.

The same men who decry unity at the ballot box.

are the ones who are now attempting in this manner to disrupt the ranks of organized labor. Workingmen, watch your leaders, even if you consider them faithful, watch them!

Did you notice that most of the houses that were being pulled down as unsanitary.

are those which are unoccupied or for which no rent is being paid? All "reforms" which do not threaten rent, interest, or profit, are easily carried through.

soaked us to the amount of \$4.40 and the end is not yet as we have to go to the justice shop mill Monday morning to be skinned a second time and lose a half a day's time. Further comment is unnecessary.

Yours truly, John T. Gamble.

P. S. I protest that it is an abominable outrage that I should be arrested, imprisoned in a filthy hole and robbed in the above manner. The only plausible reason that I can give for the action of the police literature and the ruling class do not like it. This occurred about 6:30 p. m. J. T. G. -Chicago, April 21, 1900.

Editor Workers' Call:

Dear Comrade:—Since there is no basic principle involved in slightly altering the name of the party, but that some comrades are directly protesting whether or no against a referendum vote to settle the matter, saviors strongly of OLD party ways and means to accomplish an end, and looks very bad indeed, creates suspicion and causes enmity to say the least.

As to Methods.

The time is fast approaching when the socialist workers will be out on the streets, in the halls holding meetings, calling the workers to the polls, and making plain to them the existence of the class struggle and its inevitable triumph by the overthrow of the capitalist class through the unity of the workers for the conquest of public power at the polls.

LETTER BOX.

Hustling in Texas.

Editor The Workers' Call: Texas socialists send greeting. Propaganda work is active in the Lone Star state. A convention pursuant to state organization of the S. D. P. will be held in Dallas last week in May.

A Suggestion As to Party Name.

To Editor Workers' Call: Dear Sir:—You permit me to suggest the idea that in the coming referendum vote, the opportunity be given to drop the vote upon the question of dropping all qualifying terms and voting simply for the term SOCIALIST PARTY.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE PEOPLE'S MARX.

A popular epitome of Carl Marx's "Capital," by Gabriel Deville. Translated by Robert Rives La Monte. Published by the International Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York. Cloth, \$1.50; paper, 75 cents.

Workingmen of the world do not unite, you might lose a name even if you gained the world.

When you hear the workers call for socialism during the coming election, it may remind you that this paper is still on deck.

to give the reader a complete outline of the nature of capitalist production according to the Marxian theory, in the hope that said reader may be induced to apply to the original work itself in order to complete the details which are necessarily lacking in this abridgment.

The author has succeeded not only in presenting the outline as a complete whole, but also in compressing it into less than 300 printed pages, and when the moderate price of this work is considered it must be admitted that those who desire to make themselves familiar with the Marxian philosophy have been given an increased opportunity of so doing, by the publication of this excellent epitome.

"LET THERE BE LIGHT."

Comrade Johnson of the S. D. P. Clears Up Some Tangled Ideas.

Comrades: [A copy of this letter is sent to The Workers' Call in the fear that the large number of letters received by the Social Democratic Herald may delay its publication there. It is hoped that, by being printed in this week's issue of The Workers' Call it may reach some of the S. D. P. branches before the vote is taken on the union referendum.]

I regret very much the stand taken by Comrade Debs, for I feel that his intuitions for wisest action in behalf of the working class are unfortunate.

In particular I regret that errors of fact occur in his letter, due to misinformation, especially as regards the situation in Chicago. Concerning name conditions have changed since Comrade Debs wrote his letter. Comrades Wilshire of Los Angeles, Simons of Chicago, Reich and Roth of New York and Kaplan of Boston, all of the S. L. P. have since then, through the press, urged their comrades to vote for the name S. D. P. A number of the Chicago S. L. P. assure me they will support the name. By the time this letter is read I have no doubt that so many S. L. P. branches will have voted for our name as to decide that matter wholly.

Surely the spirit imparted to the S. L. P. by Comrade Debs must find no echo in the experience of our comrades throughout the country.

Comrade Debs has been informed that the conference at New York was so partisan in its action as to be unacceptable. However, when one of the S. D. P. delegates says he was only one of two in the conference working for the S. D. P., all others working for the S. L. P., we see how unpartisan Comrade Debs' informant was.

That "revolt threatened instantaneously throughout the party" after the news of the New York conference must surely be the result of misinformation. Certainly branch #2 and other comrades I have talked with saw nothing of revolt till the manifesto was promulgated. It appears that aside from Milwaukee, it was a revolt of Chicago leaders only. The fruits of it are to be found solely in the manifesto of the N. E. B. In the issue of the Herald immediately following the New York conference there are no letters as evidence of revolt or disorganization. The week next following two such letters appeared, one echoing the manifesto, the other written at headquarters.

Concerning what is said of the relations between the parties here in Chicago in particular, I must protest. The fact that many S. L. P. comrades have not called at headquarters is no indication of ill-feeling. But a few even know where it is. One could not expect more to have appeared, for all knew the hostile attitude entertained there for union. Aside from a few who did not call the great body of the S. L. P. are workmen who have no opportunity to come even if they would. How many of our members called at their headquarters?

The Chicago movement has been put to Comrade Debs in a bad and prejudiced light. It is not true, the Chicago S. L. P. "at heart have no use for our comrades." Branch 2 and the branch in the 13th ward met with the S. L. P. on the most cordial terms several during the recent aldermanic campaign. The 23rd, 33rd and 34th ward branches of the S. L. P. have been addressed by our comrades or have advertised speeches by them.

Lastly, I am obliged to differ with Comrade Debs as to the possibility of moving forward on parallel lines against the common enemy. To be sure Newark, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Cleveland and other places have shown the spectacle of two socialist parties co-operating, but that is well known to be the result of the pending movement for socialist unity. The very nature of competition, as we socialists surely know, makes it almost impossible to pull together. As separate parties we will inevitably try to wrest away each other's conquests, with a great waste of effort as the result.

Let us co-operate rather than continue the disgraceful fight between ourselves which we have had in the past.

The S. L. P. is just the same as it was two months ago, except that now they will take name. We cheered for union then. Are we to turn from it now? We have our candidate for president and our name. Is it that we don't want union but will only try to "swallow" them?

Yours for socialism, Roswell H. Johnson.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

"Haverhill Social Democrat" Swells the Universal Chorus for Unity of Socialist Forces.

The question of union with the Socialist Labor party is again before the membership of the Social Democratic party. This has come about through the submission by the national executive board of a manifesto against union and calling for a referendum vote of the party upon whether union is desirable or not.

It was believed that the union of the two parties had been practically accomplished, the only thing remaining being the referendum vote to be taken by each party upon the results of the New York conference of the committees on union.

It was believed that the union of the two parties had been practically accomplished, the only thing remaining being the referendum vote to be taken by each party upon the results of the New York conference of the committees on union.

Suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, come this manifesto attempting to reopen the question by asking if union is "desirable." If the situation were not such a serious one, if there were not so much at stake, this action of the national executive board would partake of the nature of opera bouffe and would only excite laughter.

To the first proposition, we answer: YES! To the second: NO! Union is desirable. Union is desirable because the Socialist Labor party is composed, first of all, of socialists who have everything in common with the Social Democratic party; and second, because the never-ceasing battle with the capitalist class and its emissaries demands a solid front of all socialists worthy of the name; and third, because the time for quarrelling over things of little consequence to the general movement has gone by, and the time for grappling with things of great consequence to the movement has come.

The Socialist Labor party with which we deal is a rejuvenated organization, free from the obnoxious characteristics which formerly cursed its career and blocked its progress. Its members have cleared themselves of the barnacles which retarded them in their fight for socialism; they have renounced the misdeeds committed by those in authority in the past and they have pledged themselves to the same tactics that have distinguished the Social Democratic party since its existence.

The economic and political conditions prevailing in the United States speak eloquently for a union of socialists. The ownership of the means of wealth production continues to gravitate rapidly into the hands of the small capitalist class, the middle class is being swept away, and the working class becomes numerous, poorly paid and discontented. The industrial arena seethes with strikes, labor outrages and conflicts. The Republican party is gathering within its folds the capitalists who formerly "worked" the Democratic party, which, in turn, is preparing to make a last despairing stand against the inexorable fate which hugs and crushes the middle class for which it appeals. The awakening working class turns to that political movement which best speaks of their aspirations and their destiny, and the socialists of the land owe it the humanity of today and tomorrow, that the movement be ready to receive them and give them encouragement and hope, instead of disappointment and disgust.

The manifesto of the national executive board is an illegal document. The one thing properly before the membership of the Social Democratic party is the report of the New York conference on union. Neither the members at large nor the convention gave the board authority to submit such a referendum, nor had the official report reached the board when they drew up and published the manifesto. They have been guilty of an act which lays them open to the charge of autocracy and "bossism." The socialists of the country have had enough of this sort of thing in the past; they want none of it now, nor will they

tolerate it again in the future. The few individuals who believe they can conduct the Social Democratic party or the socialist movement according to their special wishes and desires are making a huge mistake. Did they but understand those who constitute the movement, they would know any rule but a democratic one would bring disaster to those who practised it. The very spirit of the movement demands democracy, and a democracy of a pure and enduring type. Sooner or later the dictator in the ranks of socialists is overthrown, and this is inevitable in the very nature of things. The vast majority of the membership of both parties are longing for a union of socialists. That union will come, and those who attempt, openly or secretly, to prevent it will meet defeat in the progress of its coming.

The report of the New York conference is before the membership of both parties. The actions of the conference must be ratified by a concurrent vote of each party before they become effective. This is democracy. In order to be able to vote on the conference's actions the social democrats must first vote for union and against the usurpation of power by the national executive board. In view of all the circumstances it is the duty of every member of the Social Democratic party who desires progress, harmony and democracy in the socialist movement to protest against the manifesto issued illegally by the national executive board by voting "Yes" on the proposition, "Is union between the Social Democratic party and the Socialist Labor party desirable?"

DO THIS AND VOTE THE MANIFESTO DOWN! - Haverhill "Social Democrat."

CANNOT BE EVADED.

Reality of the Doctrine of Personal Responsibility.

Among the numerous cases of destitution during the year 1900 were two in Chicago which should shock the self-contented civilized communities to its rotten core. One was the case of a little baby dead from want of food found by the side of its starving mother, the direct cause of want of employment by a father willing to work, but overlooked by Providence; the other was also a case of starvation—that of a boy found praying that God would send food to his mother, who was lying dead before him, in a house without food or fuel and in the depths of winter.

Those who deny the destitution of the humbler classes of society, or satisfy their consciences by quoting the scriptural text "the poor ye shall always have with ye" fill the definition of scoundrels to a nicety. They have no remedy to propose save the occasional charity that disgraces both the giver and receiver. Drink, idleness, criminal inclination are the triad of excuses used by the pious hypocrite who is faced with the problem of economic regeneration, and his conscience is completely lulled.

The woman of the poets, refined, elegant and beautiful is content to play the part of a lovely siren and crush all the finer feelings and sentiments of Nature's peerless work. She absolutely refuses to come in contact with misery and only treats with indifference or disgust the conditions of life under which the majority of human beings are forced to exist. Suicide, murder, crime and poverty to her are the elements out of which novels are made for her pleasure, and the causes which produce these phenomena are unknown to her and from choice. Why should she condemn herself and her class by an inquiry into the simplest elements of economic justice? Why should she trace the rents, interest and profits that feed, clothe and house her, to the levy of private taxation of legitimate production and exchange? She is happier without, but she is a criminal worse than the most brutal murderer that ever disgraced civilization. Think of it. One has the power to alleviate hunger, misery and the fearful anticipation of destitution and passes by on the other side, or does out a charitable gift that possibly reaches the object, but leaves the mass unchanged.

Every man or woman must bear his or her share of responsibility for the social state in which they live and that our social system is unjust needs only a superficial examination. Not to the worker, but to the person privileged to tax him goes the benefits of civilization; not to the thinker but to the exploiter is the reward of intellectual exertion; and only the most radical changes in the social organization will eradicate the terrible consequences.

The doctrine of personal responsibility is the lesson that must be flung into the faces of society women, church habits, retail philanthropists and other enemies of society who refuse to recognize the evil or the remedy, and who are engaged in the unholy attempt to quell the desire for change by an alleviation of suffering which will only prevent actual revolution.

A Helen Gould though infinitely superior to her fellow sisters is far as the poles from being a good woman, because she is content to leave the vital question of injustice untouched, while she plays the part of the Almighty herself, towards the victims whose spoilation has made her a wealthy woman.

Socialists in Davenport, Iowa, polled 253 votes in the recent city election, of which 209 were recorded for the aldermanic candidate in the 3rd ward alone. Davenport comrades think that if they had had a good speaker the vote would have been still higher. Our correspondent reports that the comrades are nevertheless fairly satisfied with the results which show that socialism is growing steadily.

Subscribe to the Call for your neighbor.

LABOR ITEMS.

Notes From Trades Union Journals and Exchanges, Throughout the United States.

Another socialist mayor has been elected—this time at Hoxie, Kan.

Socialists elected mayor in Thayer, Kan. This is becoming infectious.

Social Democrats elected an alderman at Sheboygan, Wis., and increased vote from 106 votes two years ago to 182.

Social Democrats issued charters to new branches at Lawson, Col.; Aurora, Mo., and two in Milwaukee, Wis.

Prof. John Graham Brooks, the economist, educator and lecturer, is reported to have declared his intention of supporting Debs and Harriman.

Ex-Gov. Altgeld, it appears, is not out for Debs and Harriman. He is making Democratic speeches in the East and kisses the hand that smote him.

Election of officers of International Typographical union will take place on May 18th. Votes will be cast in more than 200 cities and towns, and are expected to reach a total of 25,000.

New York butchers are on strike against the introduction of the Chicago stockyards wage scale of Swift & Co. This means a reduction from \$4 to \$2.50 per day, and in consequence a boycott against the Swift company is now being planned.

The Socialist Republican party of Ireland has notified the middle class Fabian Society of England that its confusing propaganda is not wanted on "the old sod." The Irish are pounding along for straight democratic socialism.—Cleveland Citizen.

A western silver organ whines that the Standard Oil crowd is getting control of all the dividend-paying property in Montana. A New York daily estimates that by 1910 John D. Rockefeller will control fully one-half the wealth of the United States.

A strike of 309 weavers employed by the Lowell Manufacturing company has taken place, on account of intensity of work, the company having a pace maker employed who persists in turning out more work than is permitted by the rules of the Carpet Weavers union.

Three rod mills belonging to the Illinois Steel company closed down on the 23d throwing between 600 and 700 men out of employment. It is rumored that the entire plant at Joliet will shortly close down. Enforced leisure of this sort always gains recruits for socialism.

The workers are crushed under foot by a system which they themselves maintain. By our votes we maintain a hell on earth, by our votes in favor of the two old parties we place a premium on ignorance, crime and misery. By our votes we might have a paradise on earth.—Brauer Zeitung.

Cigar makers in New York are putting up a good fight and are getting solid support from the cigar makers throughout the country who are liberally contributing financial aid. Victory in New York is well worth fighting for, as it would mean a doubling of the membership of the C. M. I. U.

The financial report of the Boot and Shoe Workers' National Union shows that organization to be in splendid condition. Owing to the introduction of the new benefit system, the income last month was double that of the previous month, and a big fund is rapidly accumulating. New shops also continue to apply for the union stamp.

There are 7,000 employees on the payroll at Pullman at present. There is evidently not much opportunity for competition in the car building business. Competition is getting played out as regards the masters, and is being supplanted by combination. The working class will have to take a leaf out of the same book in the future.

Over 4,000 Japanese laborers have landed at Pacific ports within ten days and thousands more are expected. They are superior in one great essential to American workmen, that is they are cheaper, and capitalists want cheap labor. Restrictive immigration laws sound well, but of what effect are they so long as the capitalist class remain in power?

A sequel to the great national strike of engineers, machinists, blacksmiths, etc., all included in the International Amalgamated Society of Engineers, in Denmark, last year, is not only the large increase in the socialist vote, as shown in the municipal elections, but the employers are now practically on their knees begging that the unions sign the agreements that they rejected with contempt a few months ago.

Already 120 trade union and socialist organizations have declared their intention of participating in the mammoth May Day celebration in New York, and many more societies will doubtless vote to join the great affair before it takes place. It is estimated that no less than 50,000 men and women will be in line when the word is given to march, and the number may be increased to double that number. There will be no less than twenty brass bands in the parade, and they will join together in playing the "Marseillaise" in Madison Square. Ben Hanford, Morris Hiquit, Charles H. Matchett and other trades unionists and socialists will make addresses.—Cleveland Citizen.

Socialists often say there is nothing that makes socialists so fast as capitalism when it flays the workers with the whips of hunger, cold and nakedness. But unless the socialist is there to point the way he is as apt to be scourged down the black road of Despair as into the beautiful highway that leads to freedom.

BALLOTS AND BRICKBATS.

The Story of "John Sobieski," the Man Who "Doesn't Know Why."

You workman look here! This faithful narrative is for you especially. It is the story of "John Sobieski," the man with no show, and that "doesn't know" why he hasn't got any. For the last year or so this paper has been preaching the same sort of thing to you and perhaps you've got a little tired of being preached at. We will therefore avoid preaching, and just reprint this true tale for your instruction and enlightenment. It didn't come from a socialist paper either, but appeared in the Chicago Journal of Tuesday, 18th inst. You may have actually bought this copy of the Journal, but perhaps you didn't give it much attention or possibly didn't read it at all. Anyhow we take the liberty of reproducing it here and if your "vision" is not quite so "limited" as that of the subject of the story, perhaps you may see a great light. And in case you don't see anything in it, it may not be out of place to add a trifling comment which will make the matter plainer still:

John Sobieski, we shall call him, is a laborer in the wire works at Joliet. His wage is \$1.50 a day. On this he supports his wife and children, gets drunk, buys clothing, gambles, and contributes to the church. With what remains he gets drunk again.

John Sobieski was happy last week, happy because he had work to do. Strange how slenderly hangs the happiness of mortals. John Sobieski's EMPLOYERS ARE HAPPY IN ROBING OTHER PEOPLE, BUT THAT IS GETTING ABOVE THE STORY. Besides it is libelous.

John Sobieski's vision is limited. It takes in the reeking factory yard, the high board fence, two or three blocks of unpaved street, a corner saloon, a house painted brown. John Sobieski is contented. God has given him work to do. He thinks so.

Yesterday he lumbered down the unpaved street, from the house painted brown to the reeking factory yard, muttering the cheerful curses with which the American artisan from Poland goes to his day's labor. A crowd of his fellow workmen were gathered around the gate scanning a placard. One of them chanced to understand English. He was reading the notice slowly. The others were listening dumbly, trying to put the words together in a form that ultimately might convey a meaning. What was it? Great heavens! A ban from the blue! The works are shut down WHY? John Sobieski DOESN'T KNOW. No more did he know why they were started up. He only knows that the mysterious and supernatural agency that sent the wheels spinning round has decreed that the wheels shall cease to spin. The same word has been written on his heart with the promise of food enough and drink red undant, now chill that organ with despair. What difference does it make to him, who or what this power may be? The gods or Gates, it is all the same to John Sobieski. Jupiter rolling tennins on Olympus or a fat man gambling in Wall Street are equally inscrutable to John Sobieski. ALL HE KNOWS, all it is fitting he should know, indeed, ALL IT IS SAFE HE SHOULD KNOW, is that when the factory door is open he works and eats; when it is closed he idles and starves. He cannot even guess what hand it is that draws the bolt, which means can be surmised the purposes that control the hand.

This is well. We trust, while such a large part of our efficient army is in the Philippines, John Sobieski will not know the trick that legislation and "natural economic conditions" have played upon him, the kind of game that has been substituted for Divine Providence. We are glad he has never seen Mr. John W. Gates. Otherwise he might not take his misery so meekly. He might stop on his way home. He might put a brick in his pocket and go back.

Well, friend, what do you think of it, eh? Lots of truth in it, isn't there? Yes there is, certainly. More than is usually given in your daily press. It falls short only in that it doesn't tell you what John Sobieski "doesn't know" and why he doesn't know it. That will be our task even if we have to repeat what has been said a thousand times in these columns. And it also tells you what John might possibly accomplish with a brick, in the way of "reform." But then you surely know that the brickbat method of reform is sternly discouraged in our present society, and that a continued indulgence in it would infallibly mean a jail sentence for "John Sobieski." Now it may very well be that your name is not "Sobieski" and that you never saw Poland or even Europe in your life. You may have been born here and your grandfather before you, but you must admit that if you had been working in that mill or a similar one for \$1.50 per day, and a shut-down took place, you would have to take the same dose that Mr Sobieski gets in the story. So therefore it concerns you just as much as him.

Now the subject of the story is undoubtedly an ignorant man, yet he has sense enough to know that when the works close down, he is idle and starving. But he doesn't know why they close, and if he did he would see the folly of trying to open them by cracking Gates or the head with a brick. Just look at the words in the story which we have put in capitals. John "DOESN'T KNOW." WHY? Because he doesn't know that his "EMPLOYERS ARE HAPPY IN ROBING OTHER PEOPLE," and that he is one of the "OTHER PEOPLE."

He is not aware that their business consists in buying commodities like himself for \$1.50 per day, and then extracting labor power from such commodities, of the value of many times \$1.50. That dollar and half is the cost of the reproduction of Sobieski, and a small brood of Sobieskis who must go through the same process as himself when he gets worn out. Some portion of it also is necessary for an occasional drunk, which serves to keep him in the "doesn't know" state, and a trifle for the church to preach contentment to him and fasten his gaze on another world which he expects to enter when Gates' Steel and Wire company have finished with him in this one. He doesn't know that his class alone has produced not only the steel and wire,

but clothing, food, houses and shelter, and every other useful thing which mankind needs. He doesn't know in fact that he belongs to a distinct class at all, as the crowd that Gates belongs to, have persistently told him that there are no classes here and that he is a "free" man. All of which he has believed because it was rather flattering to his pride, (or ignorance if you like the term better). And believing this he has persistently voted for the political parties which uphold the system by which Gates is enabled to rob him of the product of his labor, and lock him out to starve when he (Gates) decides that such action will bring increased profit for the Steel and Wire company.

There are a vast number of workmen who imitate John Sobieski in this respect, and they don't all come from Poland either, but when locked out they become just as hungry as John, because, like him, they "don't know" and many of them are too indifferent to want to know.

But it is not correct to say that John Sobieski "has no show." The fact that it is in the power of one man or a group of men to decree that he shall starve for a while because he has produced too much, is in itself an educational influence that in the end will enlighten him, and those who will act as he does. And when John discovers this, he will himself become an educational force, and tell others, who are still as stupid as he once was, the reason why the "works shut down," and when they see it in their turn will do the like.

The truth is that John Sobieski and his class have a great show, in fact they are the only class that will have any show in the near future, but they are now in the school of experience learning a bitter lesson.

When they have learned it they will be socialists, and will make preparations to discharge Gates instead of breaking his head with a brick.

They will vote their class into power and make collective property of the steel and wire and all other means of production. They will secure to themselves by such action the whole product of their labor, and give Gates the same opportunity to secure his, (not theirs, as at present).

And as a weapon to accomplish this change they will find that the socialist ballot is infinitely superior to all the ammunition that could be gathered in a dozen brick yards.

When this change is accomplished, Jupiter may continue playing tennins on Mount Olympus, as that will probably be as much a matter of indifference then as it is now, but it is altogether likely that the fat man in Wall Street will forsake his pastime when the "Sobieskis" decline to allow him the use of their backs as a gambling table.

EXPOSING A FRAUD.

The True Significance of the "Favorable Balance of Trade" Theory.

In a lengthy article in the "Public" under date of March 31, the editor of that paper reviews the so-called favorable balance of trade theory, proving thereby, if his statistics can be relied upon, that it is a fallacy in every way, since according to them the United States as a nation have given away in the last sixty-five years wealth of every description to the amount of \$3,600,000,000, nearly, for that is the so-called "balance of trade" in our favor in that time. Now, as the Republican party, the protection party par excellence, always boasts that this favorable balance is due almost solely, to this party fetish, this article of course is meant for a first class democratic free trade argument, since the protectionist claim, that whatever amount of merchandise we export in excess of what we import must be paid for by the foreigner in either gold or silver or both, is met in this article by proof taken from the treasury statistics, that a larger portion of this formidable sum, in reality consists of both gold and silver, to the tune of \$214,000,000 for gold and \$536,000,000 for silver, footing up the total to the amount stated above. The article moreover states, that, so far from us having a credit due to us abroad, we are really today in debt to the foreigner. He then goes on to point out the various causes that have led to this result, thereby, entirely disproving the claim that protection can be advantageous to this country since the net result is the giving away of nearly \$3,600,000,000 worth of goods, to the foreigner, not in charity, but under the mistaken idea that we thereby in some way are the gainers. Now this is all right as far as it goes, and would be a great argument in favor of free trade, were it not for one important omission! He entirely forgets, or else he does not know, the underlying cause of this strange hallucination. How does it happen that we who boast of being the smartest people on earth for getting the best of a bargain, in Yankee shrewdness is proverbial all over the world, should yet in this matter, make such a stupendous asinine blunder? Why should we give away year after year, hundreds of millions worth of wealth that we have accumulated with so much labor, and then think that we are getting richer by doing so? Surely others have access to these statistics as well as the editor of the "Public"; they can find figures just as well as he can. Then why should they overlook such an obvious fact? Why should President McKinley and the Republican party point with pride to a policy which any schoolboy that knows anything about is able to prove the fallacy of, if he has access to the statistics, were it not for some all overshadowing cause which until it is removed prevents all who come under its influence from seeing things as they really are? And finally: Why does not

he writer in question, himself try to discover the cause and point it out to us? His statistical argument otherwise is of no value, for the absurdity of the protection theory that a nation can tax itself into prosperity has been pointed out again and again without result.

Let us see if we cannot find the key to this strange enigma. Looking at it whichever way we may, there is only one rational exception possible. And that is: It is the system itself, the competitive system which is responsible for this folly. You who look at the subject through protection spectacles can see the absurdity of the farce in all its bearings. Let me explain: Free traders say international commerce is an exchange of commodities. Yes! But nations as such don't trade to any great extent. Only individuals do. And individual trade is essentially an exchange of commodities for money. What the seller gets for his goods is dollars and cents, if he had to swap goods for goods, he would certainly kick like a steer if his government should say: Ere you can bring these goods in here you must give up, say fifty per cent of it for the privilege. But as importation and exportation are almost always two different transactions, and besides the importer and exporter are usually two different persons, and above all as all transactions of that kind are conducted through the medium of money, and money is the one object all individual traders eventually have in view, the absurdity of the whole serio comic farce is lost sight of. The producer, no matter of what description, does it in order to get money, so does the trader, so does the government who taxes him, so in fact do all who have anything to do with it. Hence what is more natural than that all should cry out for protection from outside influences in order to get as much money for their commodities as possible, and the government that does that most effectually, is the government they will support no matter what the economic effects may be, as far as the nation, as a whole is concerned. The effect may be just what the editor of the "Public" states it is! Yet as long as the masses believe that they as individuals are better off for it financially they will never desert that policy.

Here lies the fundamental defect of the competitive system. It is entirely dependent on a medium of exchange, or in other words money, for its successful operation. It consequently makes the individual likewise, entirely dependent on getting money. Get money! No matter how, as long as you steer clear of the law, and all else will follow. Be a fool, a brute, a tyrant, a miserable contemptible atom of humanity, or be addicted to all the vices under the sun, nothing will count much against you as long as you have money.

But if that falls then God help you; you may be as wise, as good and as virtuous as the best in the land and yet you may die in a ditch, and beyond a passing notice in the papers no one will care. That is the reason why neither free trade nor single tax nor prohibition nor any other reform is of any avail as long as it has the competitive system as its basis.

But some one may ask: How does it come to pass that England should have recognized the advantage of free trade, for there can be no doubt but what she is the chief beneficiary of that wealth, that we are throwing away so lavishly all the time? The answer is easily found: England is essentially a commercial nation. That is to say she does not produce her raw materials, out of which she manufactures her finished goods, which she exports all over the world wherever she can get a market, to any great extent, but must import them, hence it is her best policy to get that raw material as cheap as possible, which an import duty would certainly prevent to that extent. Therefore as the commercial portion of the population of England is preponderately in the majority, the best financial interest of that party prevails. You will notice that her landed interest is as much for protection, as we are over here. They object as strenuously to the reception of these gifts as we are anxious to force it onto them.

If the editor of the "Public" will kindly disprove this explanation of the problem, or failing that, acknowledge its truth and point it out to his readers, and so finish his series of articles on the subject in a satisfactory manner, since as it now stands it runs us up against a stone wall, he may do the world some service. Though I fear he will not do that, for it would hoist his single tax creed with its own petard, since single taxism certainly depends on the competitive system for its successful operation. Who would under a co-operative system be willing to give annually so much of the product of his labor to the community, because that community claimed that it needed the land values?

A. D.

Diplomacy.

Did it ever strike you as a rather remarkable co-incidence that just as Russia seemed on the point of having a little fun with England while the latter was busy with her piratical trip in South Africa, that the United States should suddenly find an excuse to take a whack at Turkey? Of course America has no interest in the "Eastern Question," but still it is necessary for thieves to stand together, and if England should find herself checked in Africa because of Russian intervention and the United States did not come to the rescue, why Pierpont Morgan and Rockefeller might call in vain for help in China at some later day. Wonderful thing is diplomacy. But what does the worker get out of all this?

There is always room for more subscriptions.

CARNEGIE CO. "LIMITED,"

A New Charter, "Unlimited," Which Will Drive the Small Fry into the Banks of the Unemployed.

Some of us do not remember the great Homestead strike. At its conclusion in 1892—the Carnegie Steel Co. limited, was organized with a capital of \$35,000,000. The two corporations joining under the new name were valued at \$10,000,000, and \$15,000,000 worth of new stock were issued. Mr. Frick under oath charges that the major portion of this stock is yet unpaid. In less than nine years of its existence the company will, according to Mr. Carnegie's estimate, pay about \$42,000,000 clear profit for the current year. Mr. Frick under oath states that Carnegie said he could, under ordinary good conditions, realize \$500,000,000 for the company's holdings. Mr. Carnegie replies under oath that the actual tangible assets only amount to \$75,000,000. Of course it would not be in accordance with good taste for an American iron or coal king to have the meaning of a Scotch or Swiss oath defined in an American court, so a new agreement on the division of the surplus product of the American voting king was made. The Carnegie Co. was chartered under the laws of New Jersey, and some of the little fishes commenced to squeal. A capitalist Pittsburg daily says:

"The new corporation has a capital stock of \$100,000,000, and bonds to the same amount, thus making their actual holdings \$200,000,000. The lion's share is held by: Andrew Carnegie, \$17,758,000; Charles M. Schwab, \$37,858,000; Henry Phipps, \$34,452,000; H. C. Frick, \$30,568,000. How this was adjusted is not easy to see. Mr. Schwab, who held 3 per cent., comes to hold 11 1/2 per cent.; Mr. Lovejoy jumps from 1/2 to 5 per cent. The one thing clearly manifest is that the interests of all the stockholders have, as it were, instantaneously appreciated in a fashion which makes the tales of Aladdin and Midas look pale and sickly by comparison."

Those simpletons! How sickly many of our Pittsburg capitalists will look, before they'll know who or what struck them!

The charter, for a student in sociology, is a remarkable document. If there is anything the new Carnegie Co. cannot do, or any place where it cannot do it, it fails to mention the act or locality.

It may mine, transport, manufacture, buy and sell iron, steel and other metals, coal, coke, and all the products and by-products. It may build and operate railroads, pipe lines, wharves, canals, water works, gas wells, gas and electrical works, mills, factories, warehouses and transportation lines by land or water. It may hold stocks, bonds, rights, franchises, licenses, inventions, patents of any firm, corporation or association, private, public or municipal, government of the United States or any state, territory or colony thereof, or any foreign government. Thus a contracting agent may assume the airs of an envoy extraordinary. The firm will return their ore cars from northwest filled with coal at their own price with the railroad rates as a secondary consideration.

At all this the little one-horse shops and even larger capitalists stand aghast, terrified, while from the face of the well-grounded socialist it extracts but a complacent smile, for he knows full well that it is the result of economic evolution.

The Carnegie Co. is simply practicing a little private socialism, and having killed competition in various lines, they are doing fairly well. How has this "octopus" acquired its holdings?

During the panicky times of '93-'98—brought about by the Carnegies, Hamans, Rockefellers and Morgans as a means to the end—they were able to buy for a song great competitive enterprises, which have since by a criminal fiat been tenfold enhanced in commercial value. Having abolished competition, they proceeded to vote congress, and then robbed the American people of exorbitant charges for their products. Inventions and labor-saving machinery being in their possession, used for their individual material gain, created a surplus in the labor market, thus making competition "to get a job" still fiercer; this condition allowing them, to pocket a surplus of the production of their workmen of about 90 per cent.

And yet, lo and behold a "reform" sheet, lately started in Pittsburg in the interest of Bryanism, says that the Carnegie Co. is absolutely essential to the well being of Allegheny county. But then, since Mr. Carnegie called Mr. Bryan to New York, and since they jointly published a book against the Philippine policy, it may readily be seen why Bryan wants to license (legalize) the trusts.

Wageworkers of America, don't blame Mr. Carnegie, there are hosts of worse men than he; he only makes the best of a system which is maintained by, of and for his class. No, don't! But DO blame yourselves. Investigate, read, study your own class interest, and then act—vote—for that interest, if you don't, just as sure as the April sun brings new life into this grand universe, just as sure will an ever-growing American proletariat some day act, and act with a vengeance. In this year let us tremble, for our children and children's children. Socialism alone will prevent this.

Wm. S. Tuescher.

A call for the Workers' Call will always receive prompt attention, which is an invitation to call again.

Does the man beside you in the shop read a socialist paper?

The Middle Man

(Continued from page 1.)

where been other than bad.

We have suffered, too, from the tyranny of middle men, and we have not fully eradicated it. But in this country we have decided that we do not need any political middle men to do our governing for us. We choose our servants, not our rulers—at least in theory. And we are fast finding that our representative system is not very effective for the abolition of political tyranny.

But it is the economic middle man that is the keystone in the arch of oppression. That is the tyranny to which we must now direct our attention. We shall abolish it in one way, and that is the way indicated by socialism. It is the way of freedom and happiness, not only for the working class, but for all the people. Make the means of production and distribution the property of all—as they ought to be—and the tyranny of the economic middle man ceases to be. Who is to perform this task? Can it be entrusted to the hands of capitalists? That is what every laborer believes who supports by his vote the Republican or Democratic party. Have we a right to expect the men who profit by the existing system to abolish it? Never!

Who then can be expected to do so? Surely, those whose interests are to be served most immediately and beneficially by the process—the working class. How are they to effect this needed change? Political and economic changes are to be effected in this country peacefully only at the ballot box. They can be effected there only by united political action. United political action can be had through a party. And the only party in this country that is pledged to the overthrow of the wage system and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth is the party that stands for socialism.

William Thurston Brown.

Makes No Change

(Continued from page 1.)

class organization of society no measure can be introduced that touches the citadel of vested rights. Capitalists frequently permit reforms that do not interfere with their privileges, but the moment some measure is proposed that threatens their interests the tables are turned. Can we expect it to be otherwise, so long as the government is in the hands of the master class? For one to imagine that he can curtail the power of the privileged class so long as that class is in the possession of the machinery of government, is the height of absurdity.

It is true, socialism cannot spring at once full fledged into existence. But the first step toward that end is the overthrow of the present ruling class through mastery of the public powers. When socialists are in control of the government they will then proceed to put their ideals into practice. It may not all be accomplished at once, but as rapidly as possible industry after industry will be socialized until all businesses are brought under collective control.

Of course, before socialists have captured the national government, they will gain control of municipalities and states, and as fast as they gain control they will carry out the principles of socialism as far as possible. But, the first step, is to gain control—its political supremacy.

The overthrow of the capitalist class government is a revolution, no matter how accomplished. The fact that we advocate the use of the ballot does not make the movement less revolutionary. Socialism, then, is a revolution. It recognizes that practically nothing of real value to the proletariat can be accomplished until the present class rule is abolished. All changes that leave the present class government intact are mere reforms, and no change that threatens class rule can be introduced until class rule itself is overthrown.

The reformer-socialist, then, the socialist who adopts the reform method, is not doing the most effective work for socialism. His failure to grasp the fundamental principles of socialism has led him to pursue false tactics and methods. The revolutionary socialists point out the only effective way to economic emancipation—the organization of the proletariat into a class-conscious body for the purpose of gaining mastery of the public powers. Onward with us, uncompromising, revolutionary socialism.

Rev. C. H. Vall.

Onward, Oklahoma!

The eminent socialist orator, and ex-Populist leader, Hon. G. C. Clemens, of Topeka, Kansas, former clerk of the Kansas Supreme court, will address the citizens of Oklahoma as follows: Guthrie, Saturday, April 25. Norman, Monday, April 30. Oklahoma City, Tuesday, May 1. El Reno, Wednesday, May 2. Kingfisher and Enid, Thursday, May 3. Medford, Friday, May 4. Comrades should have these meetings widely advertised. Every intelligent voter will want to hear Mr. Clemens handle "Socialism and the Trusts,"—the only issue of this campaign.

CALL FOR TERRITORIAL CONVENTION.

By virtue of vested authority, the first territorial delegate convention of the Socialist Party of Oklahoma is hereby called to meet at 10 o'clock a. m., May 22, 1900, in the city of El Reno, to ratify the national socialist ticket: Eugene V. Debs for president, and Job Harriman for vice-president, to nominate one candidate for delegate to congress; to provide ways and means for the campaign, and to consider other matters of vital

GRAND MAY DAY CELEBRATION

SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1900, 2:30 P. M.

At West Twelfth St. Turner Hall, 255 W. Twelfth St.

Under the Auspices of the S. D. P. and S. L. P.

TO CELEBRATE THE WORKINGMENS' INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY AND RATIFY THE NOMINATION OF DEBS AND HARRIMAN

As the Presidential Candidates of the Socialists of America and to Indorse the Proposed Union of All Socialists Into One Party.

Speakers:

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FREE ADMISSION. ALL ARE WELCOME. The 25 books will be given away at this meeting.

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TICKETS 25 CENTS.

Socialist Labor Party of the United States.

PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor party of the United States, in Convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the revolutionary principles of international socialism and declares the supreme political issue in America today to be the contest between the working class and the capitalist class for the possession of the power of government. We affirm our steadfast purpose to use those powers, once achieved, to destroy wage slavery, abolish the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution, and to establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. In the United States, as in all other civilized countries, the natural order of economic development has separated society into two antagonistic classes—the capitalists, a comparatively small class, the possessors of all the modern means of production and distribution, (land, mines, machinery and means of transportation) and the large and ever-increasing class of wage earners, possessing no means of production. This economic supremacy has secured to the dominant class the full control of the government, the pulpit, the schools, and the public press, thereby making them the arbiters of the fate of the working class, while it is reducing it to a condition of dependence, economically exploited and oppressed, intellectually and physically crippled and degraded, and its political equality rendered a bitter mockery. And the contest between these two classes grows ever sharper. Hand in hand with the growth of monopolies, goes the annihilation of small industries and the middle class, depending upon them. Ever larger grows the multitude of destitute wage workers and of the unemployed, and ever fiercer the struggle between the class of the exploiter and the exploited, the capitalists and the wage workers. The evil effects of capitalistic production are intensified by the recurring industrial crises, continually rendering the existence of the greater part of the population more precarious and uncertain, which imply proofs that the modern means of production have outgrown the existing social order based on production for profit.

Human energy and natural resources are wasted for individual gain. Ignorance is fostered, that wage slavery may be perpetuated. Science and invention are perverted to the exploitation of men, women, and children. The lives and liberties of the working class are recklessly sacrificed for profit. Wars are fomented between nations; indiscriminate slaughter is encouraged; the destruction of whole races is sanctioned, in order that the capitalist class may extend its commercial dominion abroad and enhance its supremacy at home. The introduction of a new and higher order of society is the historic mission of the working class. All other classes, despite their present or actual conflicts are interested in the upholding of the system of private ownership of the means of production. We therefore charge that in this country the Democratic, Republican and all other parties which do not stand for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system of production are alike the tools of the capitalist class. The working class can not however, act as a class in its struggle against the collective power of the capitalist class except by constituting itself into a political party, distinct and opposed to all parties formed by the propertied classes. We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, without distinction of color, race or sex, and upon all citizens in sympathy with the historic mission of the working class, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor party, as a party truly representing the interests of the toiling masses and uncompromisingly waging war upon the exploiting class, until the system of wage slavery shall be abolished and the Co-operative Commonwealth established. Pending the accomplishment of this our ultimate purpose, we pledge every effort of the Socialist Labor party for the immediate improvement of the condition of labor, and also for the securing of its progressive demands.

Workersmen of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, and have a world to gain!

Peter Sissman

Attorney at Law

Telephone Main 5708. Suite 507, 100 Washington St. Residence 1065 Milwaukee Ave. CHICAGO.

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- QUINCY first Wednesday of each month at Fink's Hall, 613 Main St. MURPHYSBORO, every Thursday evening. D. W. Boone, Sec'y. PERIN; C. E. Crandall, Sec'y. SPRINGFIELD; Aug. Von Behrens, Sec., 11th and Madison Sts. PANAMA; Henry Vennser, Sec. CENTRALIA; A. Baumgartner, Sec., 1302 Locust St.

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